

THE DESERT PEOPLE

621 There is also intercourse between unrelated villages. For example, not every
 571 settlement has a store, and the most convenient place to buy supplies may not
 be in a related village. Nowadays there is intervillage political activity chiefly in
 the eastern districts.

DIALECT GROUPS

197 Next to the family and village, the most important social entity to a Papago
 571 is his dialect group. The nine districts into which the main Reservation was
 634 divided in 1935 are political units, and, though they coincide somewhat with
 the areas occupied by dialect groups, they are still too new and too little a part
 of the Papago pattern to command loyalty. One's dialect group, on the other
 hand, is made up of relatives, relatives of relatives, or at least of people having
 one's own colloquialisms, pronunciation, and traditions. Papago are always
 interested in talking about the groups and the real and fancied differences
 between them, many of which are accounted for in ancient legend. But the
 considerable interchange of teasing indicates deeper cleavage, as each Papago
 feels his own group to be "the" people.

There are probably six main dialect groups on the Reservation today, plus
 several mixed groups in areas where main dialect groups adjoin. Certain of
 these dialect groups may well be the modern descendants of the Piman divi-
 sions Father Kino called "tribes" (see chap. ii), which have migrated rather
 extensively since 1700. It is possible that most of the Sobalpurí and Gileños
 are now officially the "Pima" who live on the Gila River Reservation to the
 north. They speak a dialect of the Piman language which is mutually under-
 standable with any of the Papago dialects, but "Pima" is not here considered
 to be one of them. (Numerous Pima have, however, intermixed with Papago
 on the extreme northern tip of the Reservation.)

It appears that five of the six Papago dialect groups on the Reservation today
 are descendants of three other "tribes" mentioned by Kino: the *kókololotí*³
 from the "Pima proper," the *hanhauwash* from the Soba, and the *tsotokómany*,
hu'hu'nhla, and *kíy'kíma* from those which were called "Papago" by Kino.

Our knowledge of these origins is speculative; furthermore, we do not have
 specific information about the dialect groups or their distribution, for so far
 no study of the dialect geography has been attempted.⁴ For instance, the deline-
 ation of one of the groups (*kíy'kíma*) is particularly questionable, as is the

3. *Kókololotí* is plural, *kólotí* is the singular. The transcription used here follows as closely as possible the alphabet devised for Papago by Dr. William Kurath, *A Brief Introduction to Papago, a Native Language of Arizona*, pp. 13-14. However, he records no *o* for Papago; where *o* is used here in Papago words, the writer (R. S.) heard it, and future, more careful work will have to determine what should be used.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

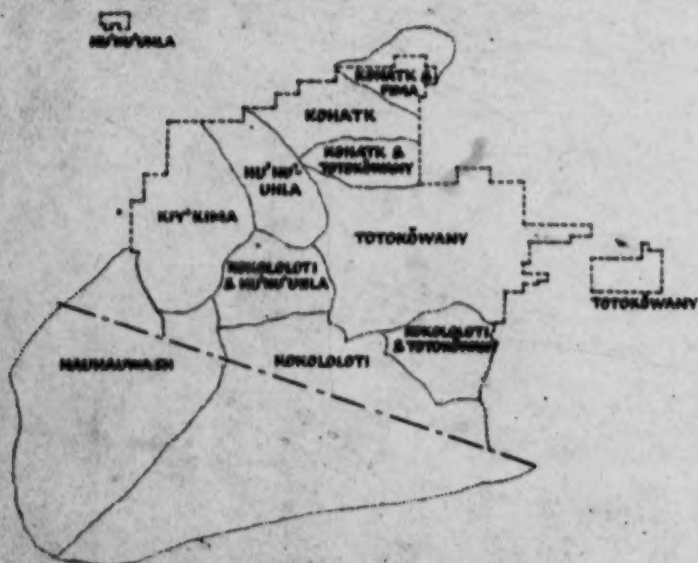
VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

name for another (*hanhawash*). However, the following discussion of the dialect groups, and Map V, which shows their approximate distribution, are based on material given the authors by Papago, supplemented by data from Underhill⁵ and the Agency.⁶

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MAP V

Pima Reservation

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECT GROUPS ON THE
PAPAGO RESERVATIONS, 1943

In the south-central and southeastern areas of the Reservation are the *koko-*
lolo, Kino's "Pima proper," who moved north and west from their original [101]
home in what is now Mexico. According to one informant, their name means
"rattling talk," but others say that the term comes from the Spanish translation
(*accolote*) of the name of one village, Chukut Kuk ("owl hoot"), transliterated
by the Papago. The *kokololoti* population is about fifteen hundred.⁷ It is likely

5. *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 59-69.

6. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

7. *Ibid.*

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197 that their present distribution is due to their dispersion into smaller settlements
571 from defense villages at the end of the Apache wars.

634 This was the area of greatest Spanish influence, and some of the people speak Spanish. They learned from the missionized Indians to the south how to raise cattle and horses. They were good horsemen long before the other groups, and to this day it is said that you cannot beat one of them in a horse race. They are also said to be impulsive. The *kołoloti* were called on to help Spanish and, later, Mexican and American soldiers in pursuing the Apache and so acquired significant numbers of guns before they were common among the northern people. This early acquisition of livestock and implements, together with more abundant rainfall in parts of the area, has doubtless been at least partly responsible for the higher economic status of this region today. *Kołoloti* acculturation began earlier and has continued more steadily than that of other Papago (see chap. ii).

[101] North of the *kołoloti* live the *tsotokōwany*, who occupy a large area in the central and eastern part of the main Reservation and all the San Xavier Reservation. This group, estimated at about thirty-two hundred,⁹ is perhaps the largest on the Reservation. Underhill claims the name for this group is an opprobrious nickname meaning "loose gee-string," but informants have told the writer that it describes the guttural cast of their speech. These are the "Papago" described by Kino. Of them, Underhill says: "It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie [Achi] and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, seem to have provided the channel...."

"The Archie [*tsotokōwany*] group was the furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners.... They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere."⁹

Other Papago consider the *tsotokōwany* cautious and respect them for their skill as medicine men and runners, skills which were greatly valued in the old culture. Although they pride themselves on conserving the old ways, the *tsotokōwany* are not the stiff-necked intransigents of the Reservation.

The title might properly be bestowed upon two other groups, the *kīy'kima* and the *hu'hu'uhla*, both of which are located in the northwestern corner of the Reservation, the *kīy'kima* farther west and south than the *hu'hu'uhla*. *Hu'hu'*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

uhla also live on the Gila Bend Reservation. These two groups have heretofore been considered as one, and even various leading eastern Papago do not agree as to whether or not they should be differentiated. However, those who live in the area concerned informed one of the authors that there are two groups, though intermarriage has carried members of one group into the other.

These two groups together number about nine hundred¹⁰ and are probably also part of the people whom Kino called "Papago." The word *k'iy'kima* means "stuck-up" or "show-off" and is applied to these people because they are said to use the word frequently.¹¹ Their idiom is reported to be like that of the *toto'kwany* but spoken faster. According to Underhill, "Huhuhra means grandmother's children, i.e., orphans, and was bestowed on the people of Kaka, one village of the group, because they had no well and wandered about sharing those of other village units."¹² This author, who does not differentiate the two groups, says that the dialect contains many incomprehensible words, presumably ancient. She further says: "The legend is that these people did not 'come up from the underground' but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie [*toto'kwany*] people."¹³

Eastern Papago look on both groups as being backward, slow, and conservative. In keeping with this conservatism, they have been the center of resistance to government policy in recent years, opposing or ignoring many Agency proposals, and such recent requirements as registration for Selective Service. Many of them go to work in the mines at Ajo, but they remain insistently of and for their own groups.

The other western dialect group, which some western Papago call *hauhauwash*, numbers about four hundred people;¹⁴ they live in the area around Menager's Dam, which was added to the southwestern corner of the Reservation in 1938. Most of this group still live west and south of the Reservation, and some only recently migrated to the Menager's Dam region. These people (probably Kino's "Soba") are known variously today as *hauhauwash*, Sand Papago, Sonoita Papago, *awatokam au'autam* ("Sand Dune People"), and *so'obakam au'autam* ("Soba Tree People").

Another small group—of about three hundred people¹⁵—is the *kohashk*, who occupy the area north of *hu'hu'uhla* and *toto'kwany*, centering around the village of Kohatk. Their dialect is very similar to Pima, and the two peoples

10. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

11. However, A. W. Jones, who has made a study of the dialect groups, says that *k'iy'kima* is a term used of any dialect group to which the speaker does not belong.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

15. *Ibid.*

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197 have common cultural traits. As most of the *kohatk* group were under juris-
 571 diction of the Pima Agency for some time before the establishment of the
 634 Papago Reservation, many have intermixed with Pima. Some people call them
 "Pima copycats." Traditionally the *kohatk* were the best fighters in Papa-
 gueria, and they are known today as "show-offs." Underhill has this to say of
 [101] them: "*Kuhatk*, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the
 Spaniards *Quajote*. . . . It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here
 in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The
 Bitter Man at *Kuhatk* was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

"Archie legend says that the *kuhatk* people moved to get better land and
 thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close com-
 munication with the Pima when Kino found them. . . . Though they may have
 once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat
 differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima,
kuhatk and Archie form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later
 distinctions have been arbitrary."¹⁶

Intermingling of two dialect groups where their territories meet is now
 pretty generally recognized, and these mixed groups may even have their own
 names. In part of Pisin Mo District, *k'y'kima* and *kohololosi* have mingled.
 Some of the *kohatk* have mingled with the Pima to the north. On the other
 hand, Anegam, because it remained part of the Papago Reservation while
 other *kohatk* villages were under the Pima, was ceremonially connected for a
 long time with the near-by *sotohōwany* villages of Achi and Gu Achi, but
 shared a well with the *hu'hu'uhla* and maintained other contacts with them.
 Now the people of the Anegam area are beginning to be recognized as a sub-
 dialect group. Sells, the Agency town, is a conglomeration of people from
 many parts of the Reservation; here another subdialect may arise.

What is happening in Baboquivari District may be indicative of the trend
 on the Reservation. Here two of the largest dialects, *kohololosi* and *sotohō-
 wany*, have mixed. The older people still know which dialect they speak, but
 the distinction is not so clear with the children; so a subdialect seems to be
 arising. A further mixture is resulting from intermarriage with noncontiguous
 groups. A man's father might be *sotohōwany*, his mother *kohololosi*, and his
 maternal grandmother *hu'hu'uhla*. With the present-day ease of transporta-
 tion, and with young Papago meeting off the Reservation in places where they
 work, intermarriage is likely to increase. In time, language differences may
 slowly disappear, or at least take on a new face. Since many Papago leaders
 and also the interpreters, who come from the mixed *sotohōwany-kohololosi*

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

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villages, travel widely over the Reservation, it is possible that the prestige they carry will eventually make their subdialect the language for the whole Reservation.

However, there is still a strong in-group feeling. Villages of the same dialect are likely to line up together on social and political questions, and there is much good-natured banter about the supposed superiority of each group. Also, outside influences have left and are leaving impressions of varying depth and extension upon the different groups. Since these influences have come from different national groups (Spanish, Mexican, American) and still come from different classes among the various nationals (priests, missionaries, teachers, ranchers, miners, and government employees), it is likely that at least the difference between dialect groups which result from differing outside influences will remain for some time.

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646 be rushed or pushed into action. If these qualities are respected by government representatives, they are more likely to gain the support and active participation of the council in their common responsibility—the welfare of the Papago.

THE TRIBAL COURT

671 Off the reservation Indians are subject to state and local law. On their reservations they are subject to federal law in regard to ten major crimes: murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson, burglary, larceny, incest, and robbery. All other offenses are dealt with according to the tribal law.⁹

The Papago code of law and order, drawn up by a committee of the tribal council,¹⁰ is in the main a codification of the old laws and customs of the people. However, it includes several white innovations such as the requirement of a marriage license and ceremony and provision for probating estates and appointing guardians.

692 On the Papago reservations law is administered by a tribal court and Indian police. The tribal court is presided over by Indian judges whose appointment by the superintendent must be approved by the tribal council. The constitution provides for three judges in all, but at the time of this study there was only one on the main Reservation and one at San Xavier.

626 As noted in chapter iv, many difficulties which might come to court are settled within the family without recourse to law, or are taken to the village court. Since the Papago are a law-abiding people, not many cases come up for trial. In one year only 116 were on record, the majority cases of drunkenness. 696 The usual sentence is a number of days in jail. The normal Papago does not like such a sentence, for he does not like to have "people talk," as they do when someone is behind bars. Thus the diffuse sanctions of public opinion are important in maintaining the legal sanctions. 681 674

693 Indian judges and police are not in a particularly happy position. Several past incumbents criticized for favoring kinsmen or people of their own religious denomination resigned. At the time of this study, one of the judges nominally a Presbyterian apparently was not accused of partiality.

DISTRICT COUNCILS AND COURTS

631 According to the tribal constitution, the district is the basic unit of government, with an elected council and a court. Actually, however, as indicated in 634 preceding sections, this white pattern of government has not really taken root 657

9. Or, in the absence of such a code, according to a code of laws for Indians embodied in U.S. Code, Title 25.

10. Approved 1945.

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

on the Reservation. The districts were created to facilitate range management, and, while in the main they coincided roughly with the areas occupied by the various dialect groups, the boundaries cut across old lines of communication and usage. Nor are these boundaries mere symbols, for they are marked by fences erected to prevent the cattle of one district from straying into another and eating up its range. Some fences cut through established ranges and kept cattle from their usual watering places. An added annoyance was that they cut across some old routes from one village to another. The fences have now stood so long that the people have adjusted to them, but the districts which they mark off have never become real entities. 631
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At the time of the present study the council of Baboquivari District in the southeast consisted of ten members, with one or two representatives from each village except Topawa, which had four in accordance with its size. Supposedly these representatives were elected at village meetings every two years. The council formerly had met every month on the Friday preceding the tribal council meeting, and anyone interested might come and participate in the discussion. However, interest had apparently fallen off, for no meetings had been held recently. 634

Hickiwan and Gu Vo district councils were organized on the old pattern: every adult male was eligible to speak and to vote. However, as previously noted, Hickiwan had been so badly split that no united action was ever taken, and only one meeting was held in the two years preceding this study. Gu Vo had had no meetings at all.

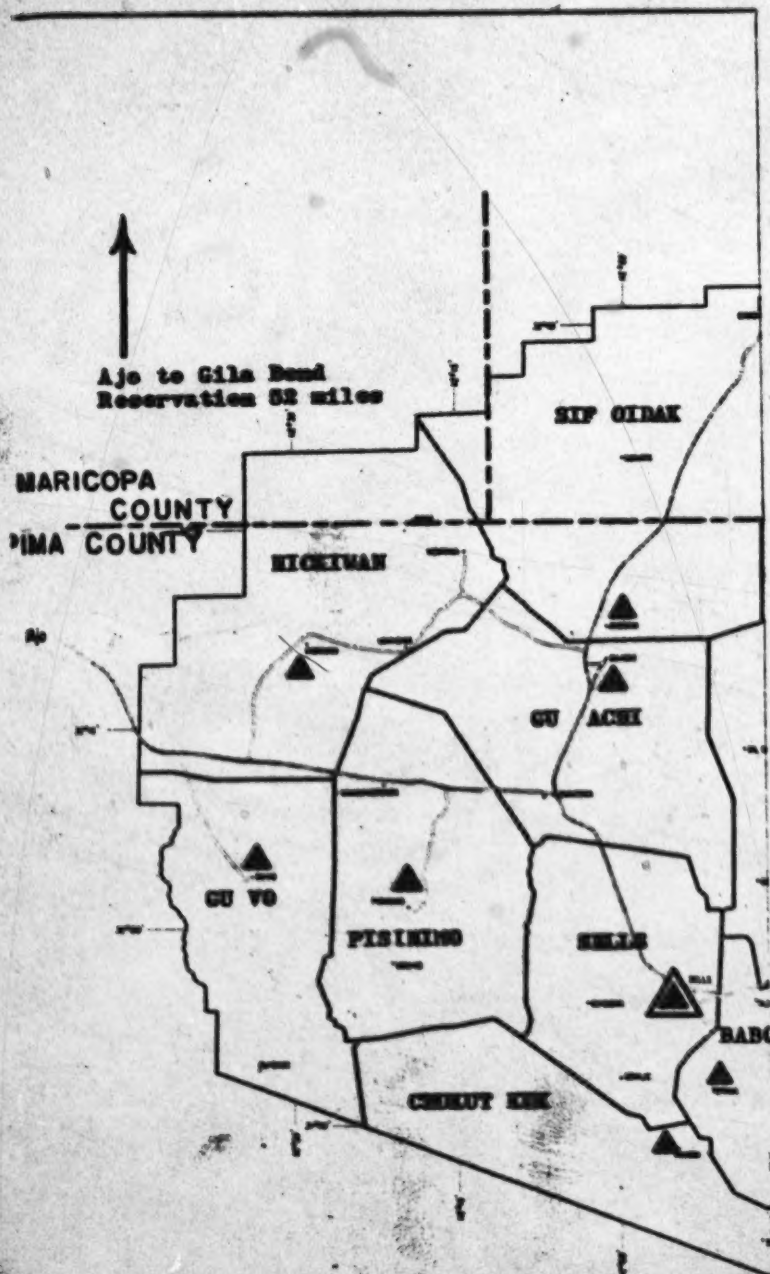
At one time consideration was given to the establishment of district courts where small matters could be decided. The people of Baboquivari indicated a desire to try out such a court, but it was never set up. Here, as elsewhere on the Reservation, minor disputes which cannot be settled by the family are still taken to the old village court. [627]

THE PAPAGO AND THE LARGER WHITE WORLD

Papago who go to work off the Reservation—as they have done in increasing numbers since 1940—receive varying treatment. Where they work in large numbers, as on the ranches and at the Ajo mine, they are given a good deal of consideration, for they are known as good and steady, though slow, workers. Ranchers allow their workmen to go home occasionally and treat them according to their merits as honest and hard-working individuals. Papago who have gone out to work for several years usually return to the same employer, and quite friendly relations are often established between them. 466

Contacts with employers at the mine are, of course, far less personal, but

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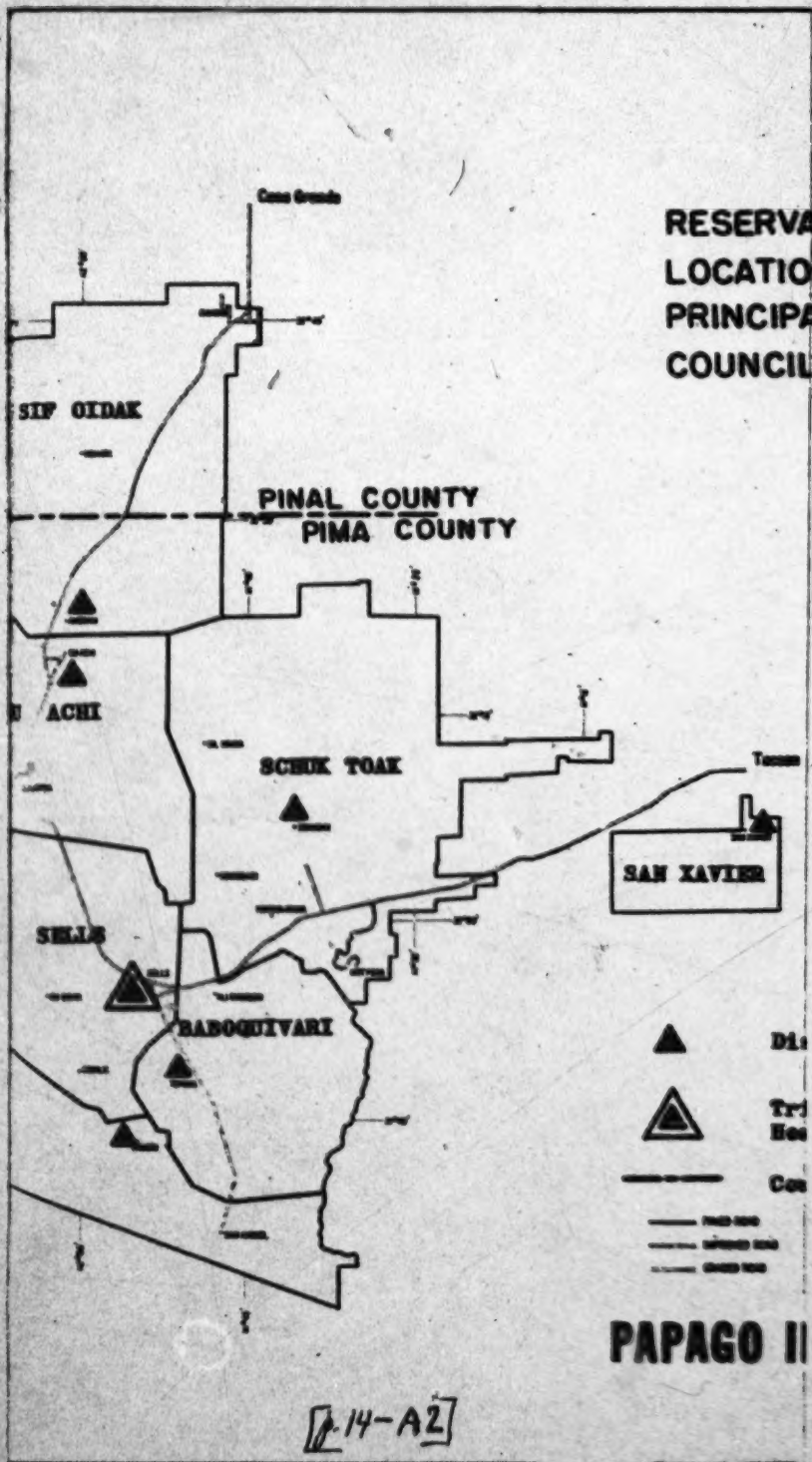
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MAP I

RESERVATION DISTRICTS WITH
LOCATION OF COUNTY LINES,
PRINCIPAL TOWNS & DISTRICT
COUNCIL MEETING PLACES



District Council Headquarters

Tribal and District Council
Headquarters

County Line



PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

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[20] on the reservation. Indian residents of Sells on the whole, seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders of the reservation.

[166] Surprisingly, there is no real community organization. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature of Sells with residents having moved there from all parts of the reservation. The organizations which do exist revolve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

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[464] Residents of Sells have garden plots and some are cattle growers, but their main source of income is from salaries and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago Tribe.

[368] Santa Rosa is not as large as Sells, nor does it have many of its characteristics. There is a community building, a government school, a government health center, a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The community building is used for meetings which are held to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

• [634]
[178] The Gu Achi District Council meets in the community building and all political activity of the district is centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important.

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts.

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Baboquivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers

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Native

- 634 ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers
 621 around Supai Oidak (Cold Fields), probably the most internal
 628 cohesive village in the district. The outside orientation of
 368 villagers in this district is towards Sells. The southern-
 [178] most village in the district, Choulie, contains three or four
 families who are oriented toward activities in San Miguel of
 Chukut Kuk district.

[166] Chukut Kuk District. This district shares its southern border with Mexico and traditionally the orientation of its villagers has been in that direction. Today, however, they join with villagers in Baboquivari District in sending their children either to Sells to the public school, or to Topawa to the Catholic Mission School. Villagers vote in Vamori and shop in Sells or Tucson. Many of the villagers in San Miguel, Vamori and the settlement of Tecolote have temporary homes in these villages and thus spend most of their time living in Sells where they work for wages. Often times the "temporary" residence in Sells is in fact the "permanent" one.

Gu Achi District. Santa Rosa is the dominant town and provides medical and commercial services to residents throughout the area. It is also the seat of political activity of the district.

[366] Gu Vo District. People in this district send their children to Gu Vo school. They commonly do their shopping in one of three places, either in Pisinimo, at the "Y" Store near Ajo, or in Ajo proper. Almost twenty per cent of the

Almost Twenty Per cent of the wage work carried on by men of Gu Vo is in the mines of Ajo. Medical services are sought in Sells or Ajo. Folk medicine is sought in the village of Ali Chuk (Manager's Dam). This village also has a reputation throughout the district as being a ceremonial center. Ali Chuk, with its irrigation, is quite autonomous and is oriented toward Mexicoc. Priests, residing in Pisinimo, make regular visits to both Gu Vo and Ali Chuk villages.

Hickiwan District. The villagers of Kaka, Ventana and Vaya Chin commonly associate. (They have the only cattle association in the district). Vaya Chin contains a BIA school wher children from throughout the district attend. People at "this end" use the telephones in either Ventana (at Joe Thomas' house) or at the BIA school. They frequently shop, however, at the general store in Santa Rosa. Medical needs are cared for also at Santa Rosa clinic or by the medicine man in Vaya Chin.

The villagers of Hotason Ve (Chargeo #27), and Schuchuli (Gunsight) participate in political and ceremonial activities with Hickiwan. They commonly go to Covered Wells or to the "Y" near Ajo to shop.

Pisinimo District. Villagers of this district have a great many of the educational, political and commercial needs taken care of by the village of Pisinimo itself. The trader at San Simon (Wahak Notonok) provides a "pick-up" store for district residents who work in Sells. Pisinimo has

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a store, a school, and a resident priest. In addition it is the voting place for the district.

Schuk Toak District. Here there is no dominant village. People living in Sil Nakya (Saddle Hanging) send their children to Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) or to Sells to school. They have their fields, however, outside the district at Gu Achi. They also have close relatives living at Comobabi during the colder seasons. Comobabi is vacant part of the year. One family in Sil Nakya gets a regular income from work done at Kitt Peak. People here commonly go to Sells for medical services, but two medicine men take care of those who want more traditional services. Havana Nakya (Crow Hanging) and Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) are closely associated. Perhaps the foremost medicine man on the reservation lives in Havana Nakya. People in this district shop in Sells; their political center as well as their educational center is Santa Rosa Ranch (Schuchk) -- a non-village location. San Pedro (Viopuli) and Pan Tak (Coyote Site) have trophies from the same medicine basket. People in the two villages are closely related and they cooperate during fiestas. Chiawuli Tak (Fresnal Village), however, is quite by itself. It seems to be a "bedroom community" for people who work at Sells, yet one section of Fresnal Village is very traditional in respect to subsistence farming, beliefs, and house type.

In summary, Schuk Toak district is represented by relatively autonomous settlements. Those near the Tucson-Sells highway (San Pedro,

Pan Tak, Havana Nakya and Chiewuli Tak and Schuchk) go elsewhere for wage work, mostly to Kitt Peak and Sells. Those villages away from the highway in the mountains (Sill Nakya, Comobabi) maintain the old pattern of cattle raising and subsistence farming and are oriented toward Santa Rosa.

Sells District. This district has not been studied carefully, but it would not be inaccurate to say that Sells dominates every other location in providing major services, except that of native ceremonialism at Gu Oidak (Big Fields). Catholic children go to Topawa to school; Protestants go to the Public School in Sells.

Sif Oidak District. This district seems to be losing many of its residents. A recent visit to Kohatk (August, 1963) revealed many houses in disrepair and abandoned. Only six families were still living there. Chuichu also, with the closing of the school several years ago, has lost some of its importance and population. Anagam is the political seat of the district and perhaps the most "traditional".

Non-Village Settlements. Under another definition, perhaps eight additional settlements on the Papago Reservation would be classified as villages. They are listed and described below.

Choulic (Baboguivari District). This village has no public building at all. It is spread over an area of some two-and-a-half miles, thus people nearest San Miguel orient

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that the difference between 5,313 and the 1959 population of 11,775 represents an absolute increase in population. This is approximately two per cent a year, well within normal expectation. The important point is that the Papago have not attempted to maintain an increasing population on the same land base but are moving off the reservation at a rate about equal to, or exceeding, the rate of natural increase. 161

The Clotts survey contains other interesting data on Papago settlements. Clotts listed, in his description of settlements, wells, fields, and so on, the population of 52 locations (see Map 5). Of these only 19 had a population of 100 or more, the largest being Topawa (500), Santa Rosa (400), San Miguel (325), Gu Oidak (Big Fields) (250), and Anegam (200). The care with which Clotts appears to have made his estimates, and his systematic recording of many details at each location visited, justifies the placing of considerable confidence in these estimates. [167]

A comparison of populations by district on the main reservation is given in Table 3. 162
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Table 3. Papago Population by Districts
1914 and 1959

<u>District</u>	<u>1914 (Glotts)</u>	<u>1959 (NHR)</u>
Baboquivari	949	562
Chukut Kuk	512	214
Gu Achi	695	531
Gu Vo	200	230
Hickiwan	222	346
Pisinimo	396	330
Schuk Toak	565	370
Sells	659	1,026
Sif Oidak	<u>1,115</u>	<u>552</u>
Total	5,313	4,161

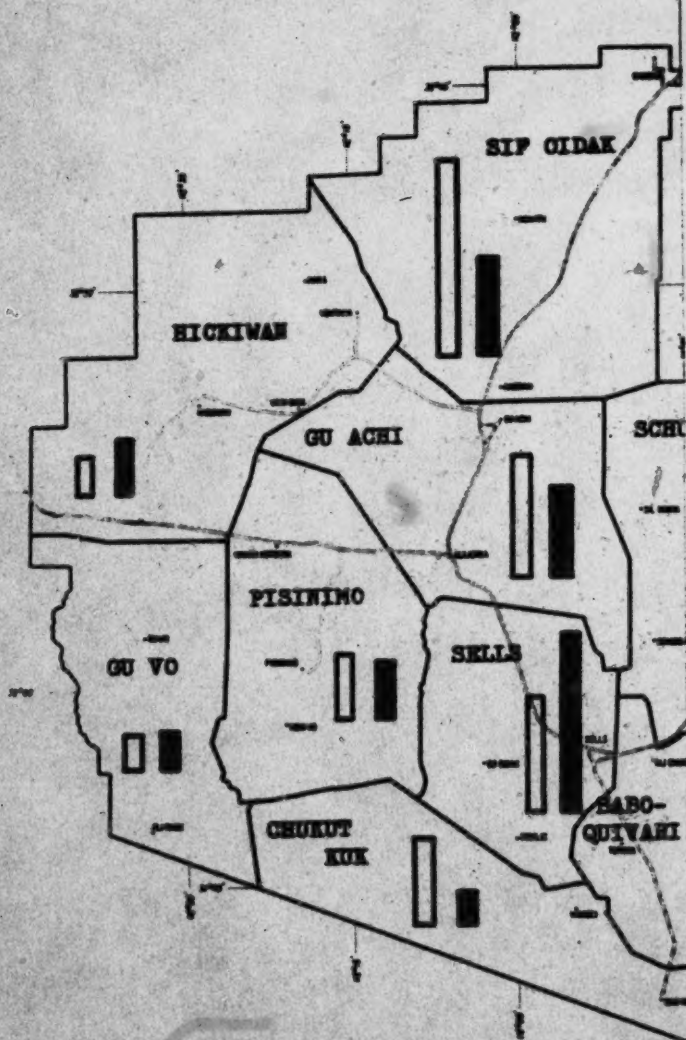
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The Present Population. The information which follows is derived from a Papago population register secured by the Bureau of Ethnic Research in 1958 and 1959 in connection with a research project sponsored and in major part financed by the Biometry Branch of the National Cancer Institute. The work was under the direction of Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg and cooperating agencies were the Papago Tribe, the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Arizona State Office of Vital Statistics.

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A population register is not a census. It is intended to serve as a permanent record of identifiable

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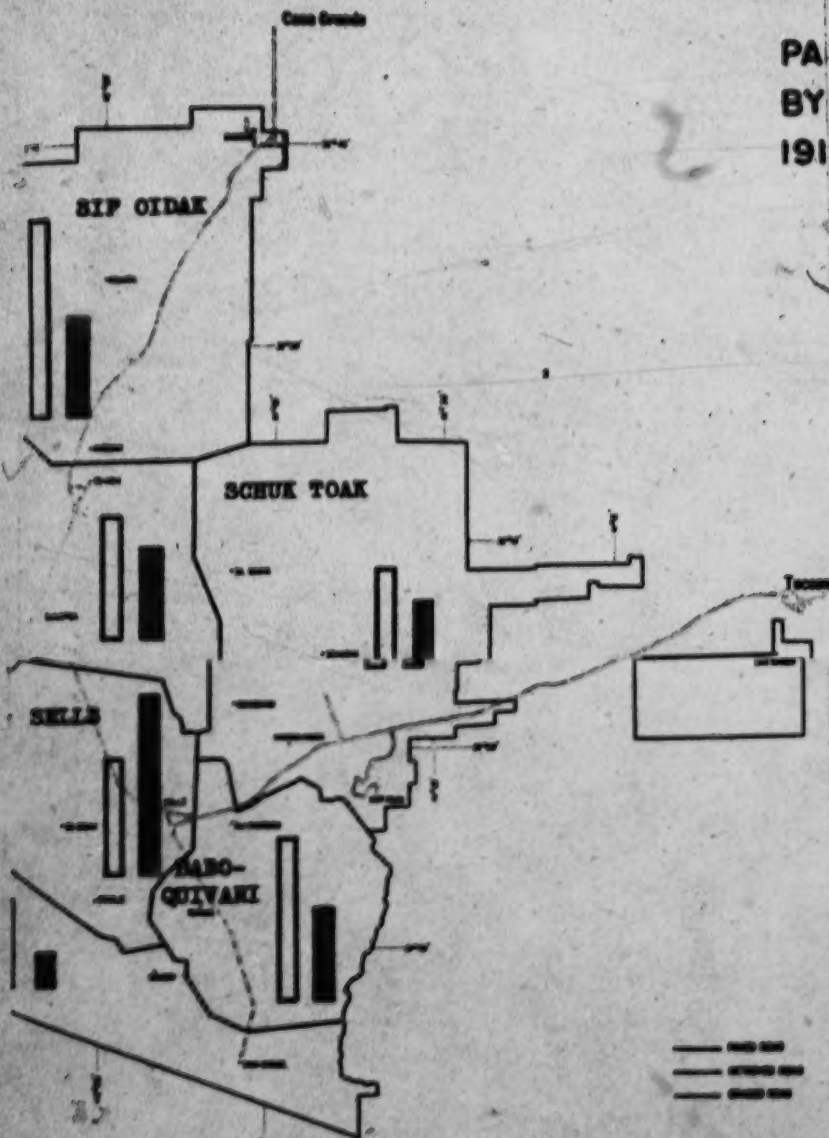


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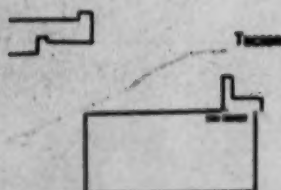
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PAPAGO II

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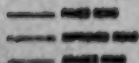
MAP 5
PAPAGO POPULATION
BY DISTRICTS
1914 AND 1959



1914 1959
(CLOTTS) (BER)



SCALE

 $1/8" = 100 \text{ PEOPLE}$ 

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[P.50-A3]

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 Table 3. Residence of The Reservation Population by Sex

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>ON RESERVATION</u>				
Total	4,789**		2391	2398
Baboquivari	562	11.74	292	270
Ali Chukson	153		84	69
Koselik	47		20	27
Supi Oidak	31		18	13
Topawa	224		115	109
Other Places	107		55	52
Chukut Kuk	214	4.50	114	100
San Miguel	76		46	30
Vamori	65		38	27
Other Places	73		30	43
Gu Aohi	531	11.09	245	286
Gu Aohi	264		116	148
Ko Vaya	52		23	29
Quijotoc	50		13	37
San Serafin	32		15	17
Other Places	133		78	55
Gu Vo	230	4.80	129	101
Gu Vo	135		79	56
Ali Chuk	80		38	42
Other Places	15		12	3
Hickiwan	346	7.22	179	167
Hickiwan	127		74	53
Hotason Vo	39		18	21
Kaka	65		28	37
Schuohuli	29		12	17
Vaya Chin	12		5	7
Ventana	58		34	24
Other Places	16		8	8

(Table 5 Continued)

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Pisinimo	330	6.89	150	180
Kom Vo	52		23	29
Pisinimo	136		59	77
Tahak Motonok	56		25	31
Other Places	86		43	43
Schuk Toak	370	7.73	187	183
Chiawuli Tak	56		27	29
Comobabi	99		55	44
Havara Nakya	64		35	29
Pan Tak	56		19	37
Schuchk	13		6	5
Sil Nakya	51		27	24
Viopuli	25		13	12
Other Places	6		3	3
Sells	1,026	21.42	503	523
Cowlio	91		43	48
Gu Oidak	213		111	102
Sells	657		315	342
Other Places	65		34	31
Sif Oidak	552	11.52	286	266
Anegam	157		83	74
Chuichu	227		116	111
Gu Komelik	14		7	7
Kohatk	50		26	24
Viava Vo	66		32	34
Other Places	38		22	16
San Xavier	454	9.48	235	219
Gila Bend	174	3.63	71	103

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** Five individuals in the earlier count have been removed.

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The first detailed observations of Papago cattle raising were made by Clotts during his 1914-15 topographic survey of the Papagueria (Clotts, 1915). At each village he attempted to record such details as population, number of houses, acreage in cultivation, amount of livestock, and so on. He reports, however, that his figures on the number of cattle and horses are only estimates, based upon the number given at a few villages and by comparison with other places. He provides a district-by-district report and then gives an estimate for the entire reservation. The latter figure is from twice to three times the district totals.

Table 11. Numbers of Livestock Recorded by Clotts in 1914 at Locations now within the Papago Reservation

● [34] District	Cattle	Horses	Grasing Units*
Baboquivari	2,050	320	2,450
Chukat Fut	2,075	330	2,486
Gu Achi	1,570	270	1,856
Gu Vo	665	88	775
Nickiwan	900	155	1,094
Pisicimo	1,790	220	2,065
Sohuk Toak	800	110	937
Sells	1,870	270	2,206
Sif Cidak	<u>2,000</u>	<u>240</u>	<u>2,300</u>
Totals	13,670	2,003	16,169

Having given this information, he then goes on to say that the number of cattle and horses held by the Papago

* Units are calculated on the basis of one unit for cattle and one and a quarter units for horses.

cattle in the Schuk Toak and Hicikiwan districts. Other districts, on the whole, are running far fewer numbers of livestock than in 1914. A slight decrease is shown for the number of cattle in the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts between 1914 and 1962 where cattle growers now own about 29 percent of all cattle on the reservation (See Map 7). It will be recalled that growers in these two districts held about 45 percent of all reservation cattle in 1937.

In attempting to summarize the present extent and importance of stock raising on the Papago Reservation, more detailed data are available than for the past, but an accurate count of the numbers of cattle and horses on the reservation is still not available. However, increased cooperation of tribal leaders and the establishment of cattle associations (in San Xavier, Pisinimo, Hicikiwan, Gu Achi, Sif Oidak, and Baboquivari districts) is making it possible to obtain increasingly dependable records.

The 1962 record of grazing units, and the "authorized carrying capacity" of the main reservation are shown in Table 13. In regard to capacity of the range, it should be pointed out that this was established in 1944 on the basis of work which was conducted some years earlier.

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[422]233
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Table 13. The Distribution of Stock Units
on the Main Reservation in 1962
Compared with the Estimated Carrying Capacity

<u>District</u>	<u>Stock Unit Capacity</u>	<u>Stock Units</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Horses</u>
Baboquivari	1,780	2,261	1,639	498
Chukut Kuk	1,064	2,440*	1,590	680
Gu Achi	1,000	1,532*	1,000	426
Gu Vo	469	1,085*	610	380
Hickiwan	939	2,062*	1,000	850
Pisinimo	1,003	1,980	1,470	408
Schuk Toak	2,102	1,799*	900	560
Sells	1,067	2,022*	1,210	690
Sif Oidak	880	861	464	318
Totals	10,304	16,070	10,082	4,770

[115]
[128] Robert Roether, one of the major cattle buyers on the reservation, is of the opinion that the above estimates are too low for cattle and too high for horses.

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422 Fully as important as the number of cattle and horses grazed, is their ownership. All cattle on the reservation are owned by Indians and, except for 200 head in a tribal herd, ownership is by individuals and families. No actual records are kept of individual holdings, although the tribal office keeps a record of sales by individuals. The Bureau of Indian Affairs now estimates that at least seven families have from 200 to 600 head of cattle each, that about ten families have 100 to 150 head, and that most families have about ten head or less. The number of individuals and

[217]

* Because no livestock count figures are available, these numbers are estimated.

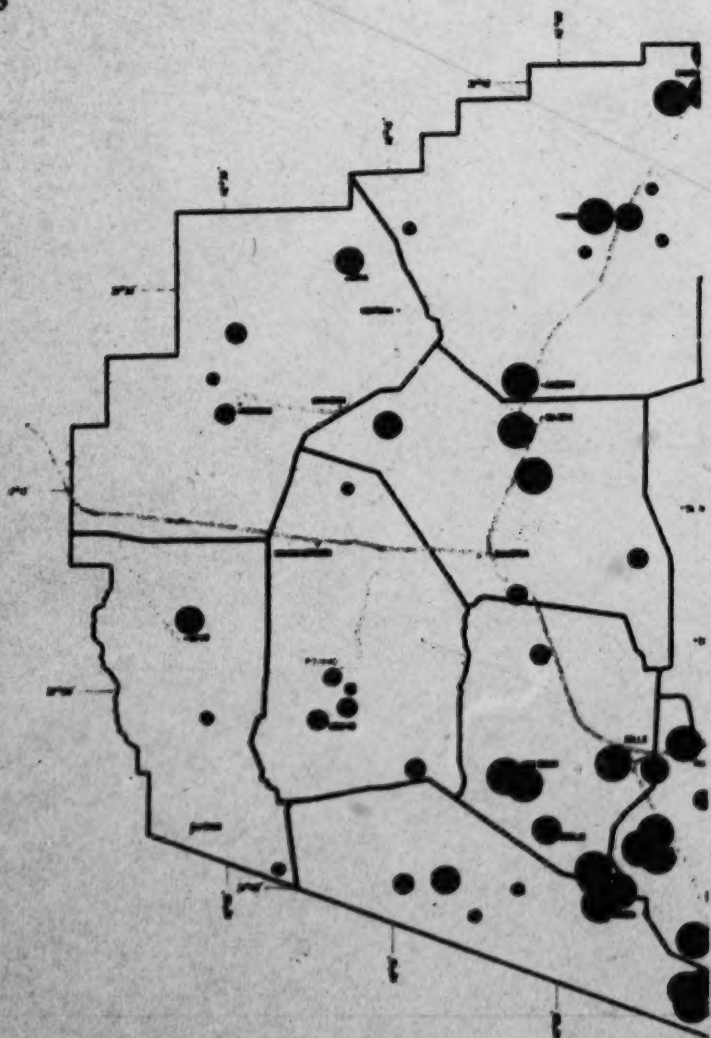
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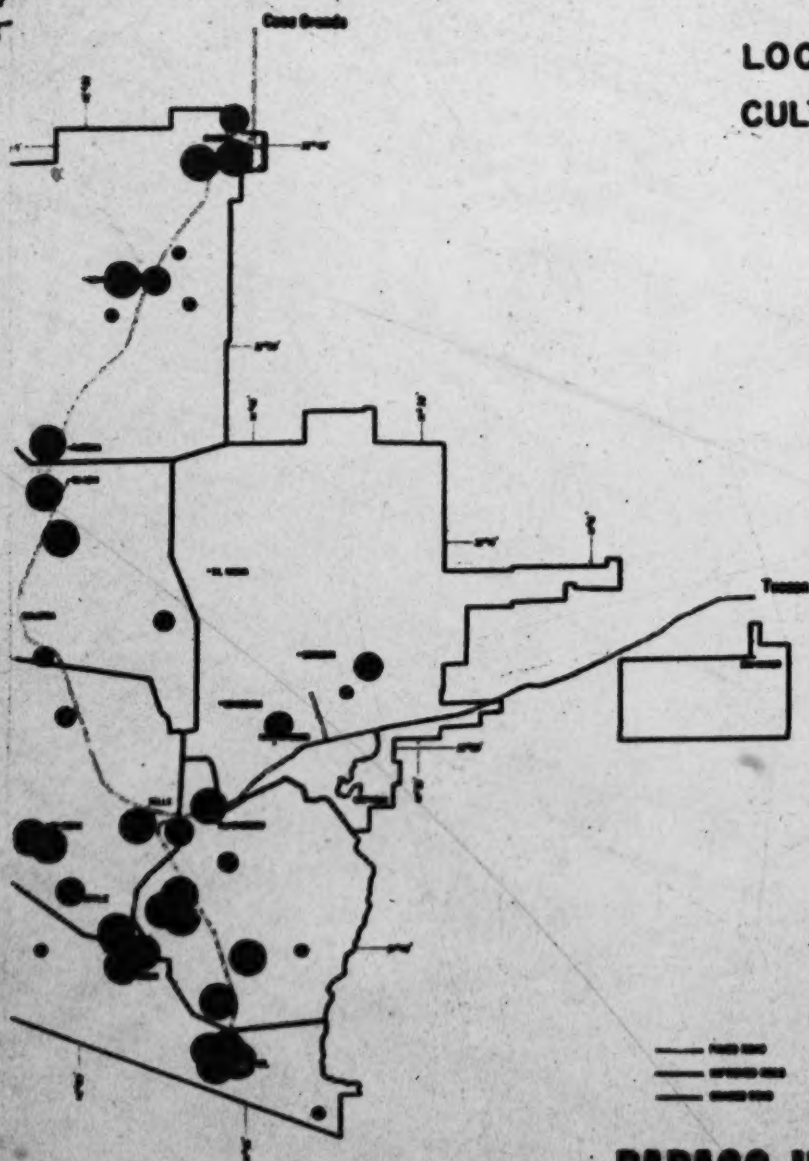
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[A-11]

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PAPAGO IN

[78-12]

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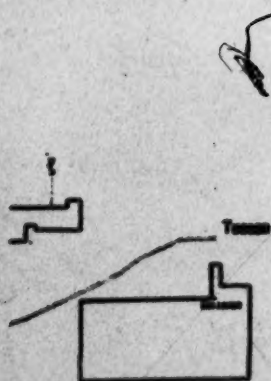
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MAP 6
LOCATION AND SIZE OF
CULTIVATED FIELDS 1914
(FROM CLOTS)

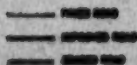


• APPROX. 25 ACRES

• " 75 "

• " 150 "

• " 250 "



PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1914

[P. 78-A3]

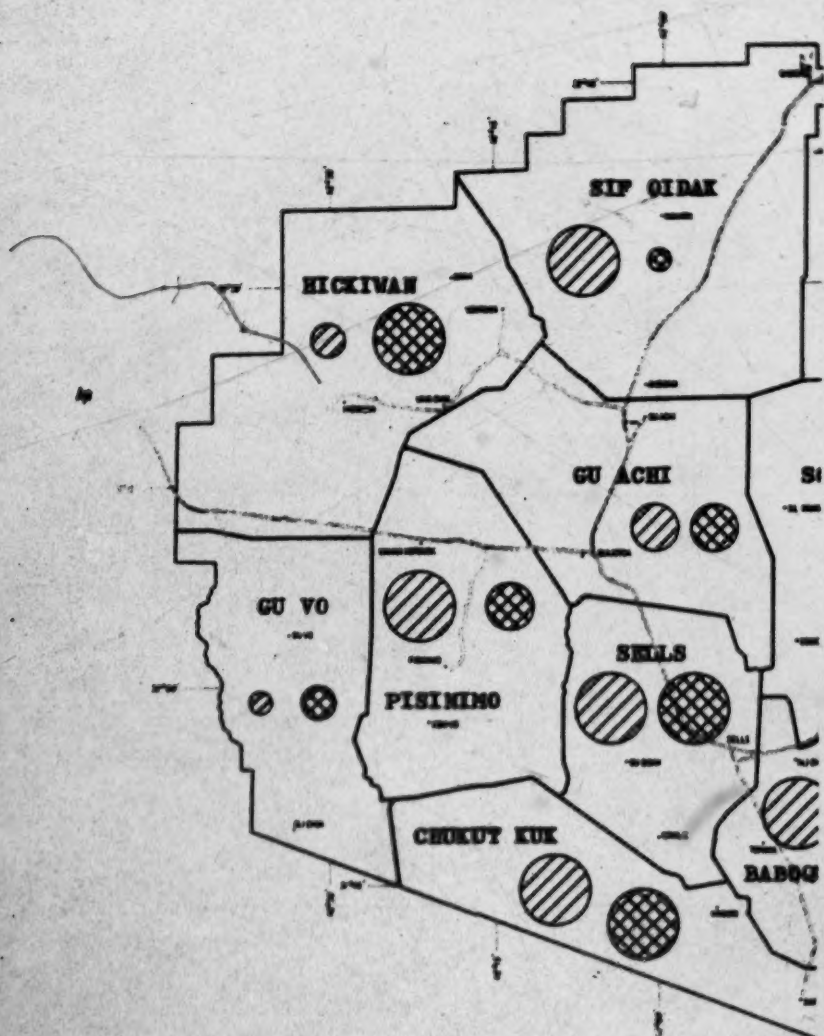
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[p. 78-B1]

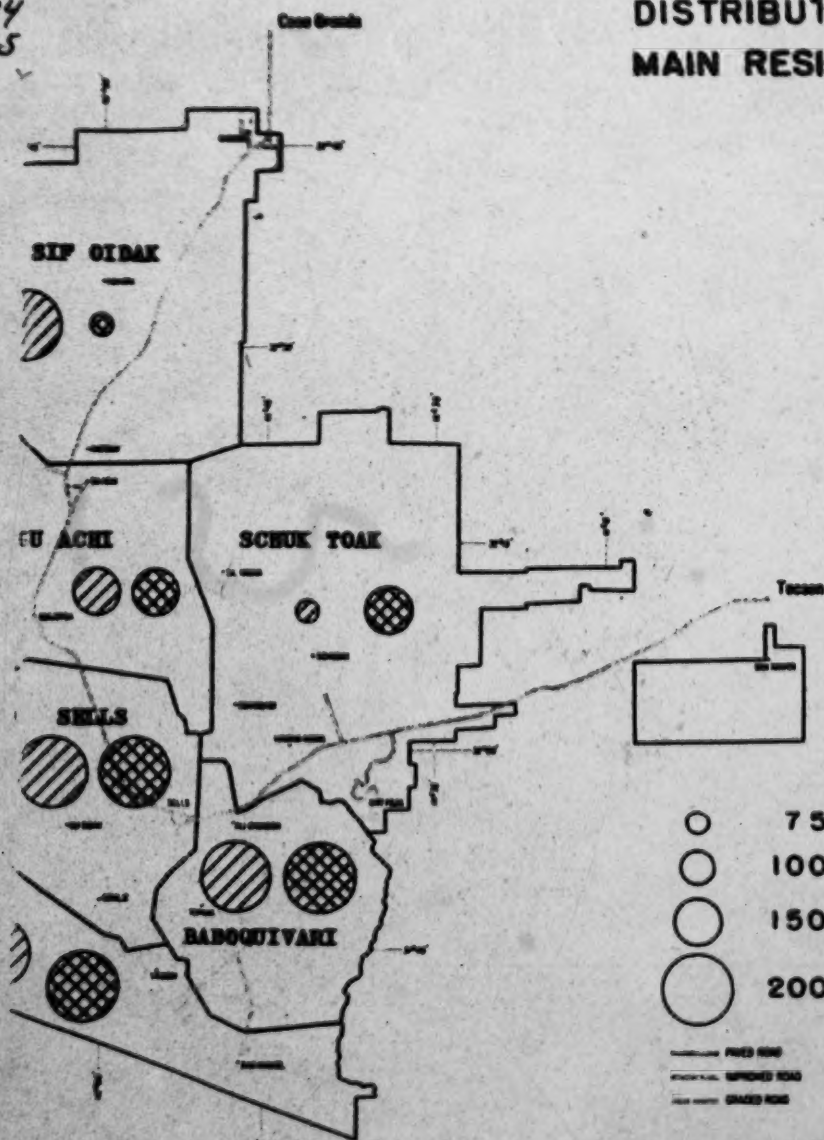
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DISTRIBUT
MAIN RESI

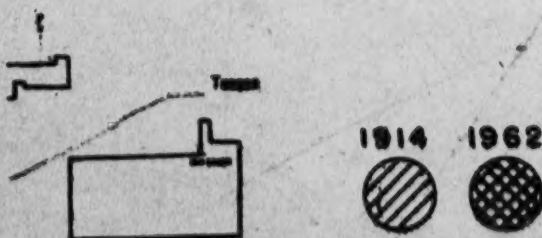
PAPAGO II

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● 634
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MAP 7

DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK ON MAIN RESERVATION 1914 & 1962 BY DISTRICTS



PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[4.78-B3]

trained management and the use of fertilizers, insect control ²⁴¹
and expensive farm equipment and water pumps.

Flood water farming, as it has been practiced since prehistoric days on the Papago Reservation, consists of the use of surface runoff of rain water at those spots where it could be collected and spread, either at the mouth of an arroyo or along stream beds in the larger valleys. Various names have been used to describe this technique: "akohin farming" (akohin being the Papago word for the mouth of an arroyo), "flash flood farming," and "dry farming." Actually, ^[77] since the introduction of wheat by Europeans, dry farming, which depends directly upon moisture from rainfall, has been used by the Papago in raising winter wheat. Corn, beans, and squash, however, which must be grown in summer, depend upon flood water which can only be supplied by the artificial spreading of moisture from intermittent streams.

Periodic surveys and estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs show that flood water farming on the main reservation has steadily declined during the past 50 years. How far the decline has gone, however, is not known. In an effort to secure this information the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been systematically carrying out a farm survey during the past five years. Thus far, only the southeastern part of the main reservation has been surveyed (Chukut Kuk, Baboquivari, and the southern part of the Sells district).

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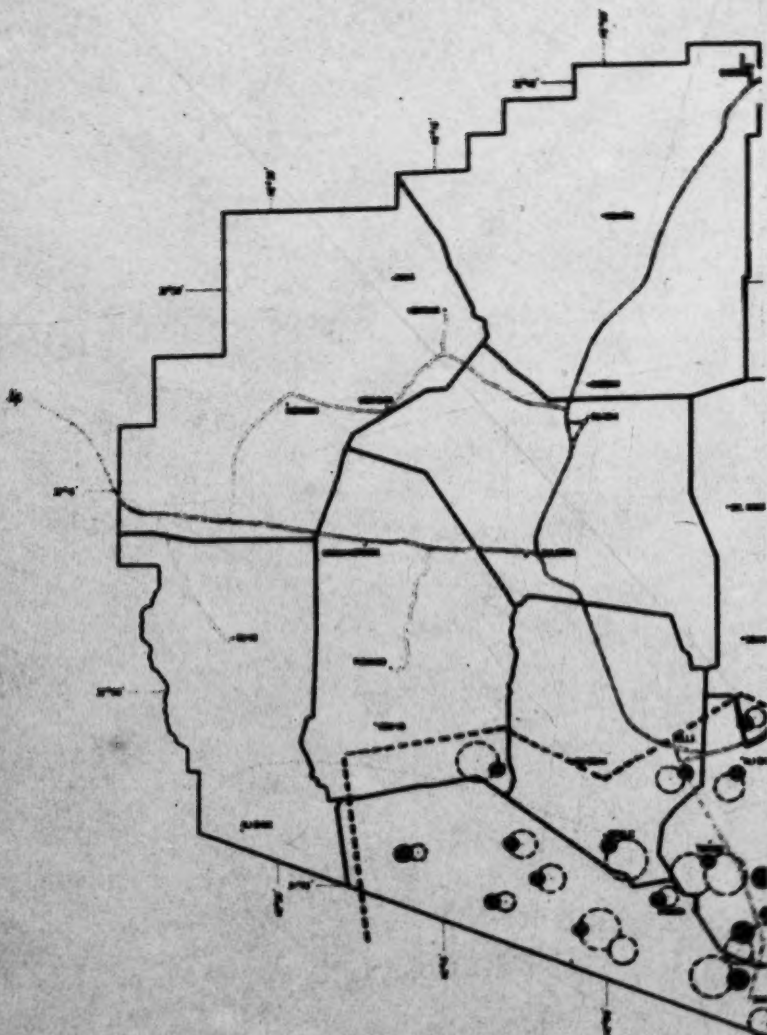
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634 The survey records 536 acres that are now being farmed,
or have very recently been farmed, out of a total of 4,466
acres available for flood water farming in this area. The
location and approximate size of these plots, both farmed
and idle, are shown on Map 8.

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178 Although yields could not be determined, the crops
grown on many plots were recorded, indicating an overwhelming
preference for corn, beans, and squash, the ancient and
traditional food crops of prehistoric Indians in the South-
west. Watermelons, wheat, milo, peas, and a few other crops,
are grown in very small quantities. Thus the chief function
of these farms is subsistence which, in fact, is a return to
earlier times since as recently as 20 years ago cash crops
of winter wheat were grown on much of this same land.

[114]
[101]
[310] In an effort to determine whether or not a similar
decline in flood water farming has occurred in other areas
of the reservation, a brief study was made by the Bureau of
Ethnic Research in the Santa Rosa, Chuichu, and Gu Vo areas.

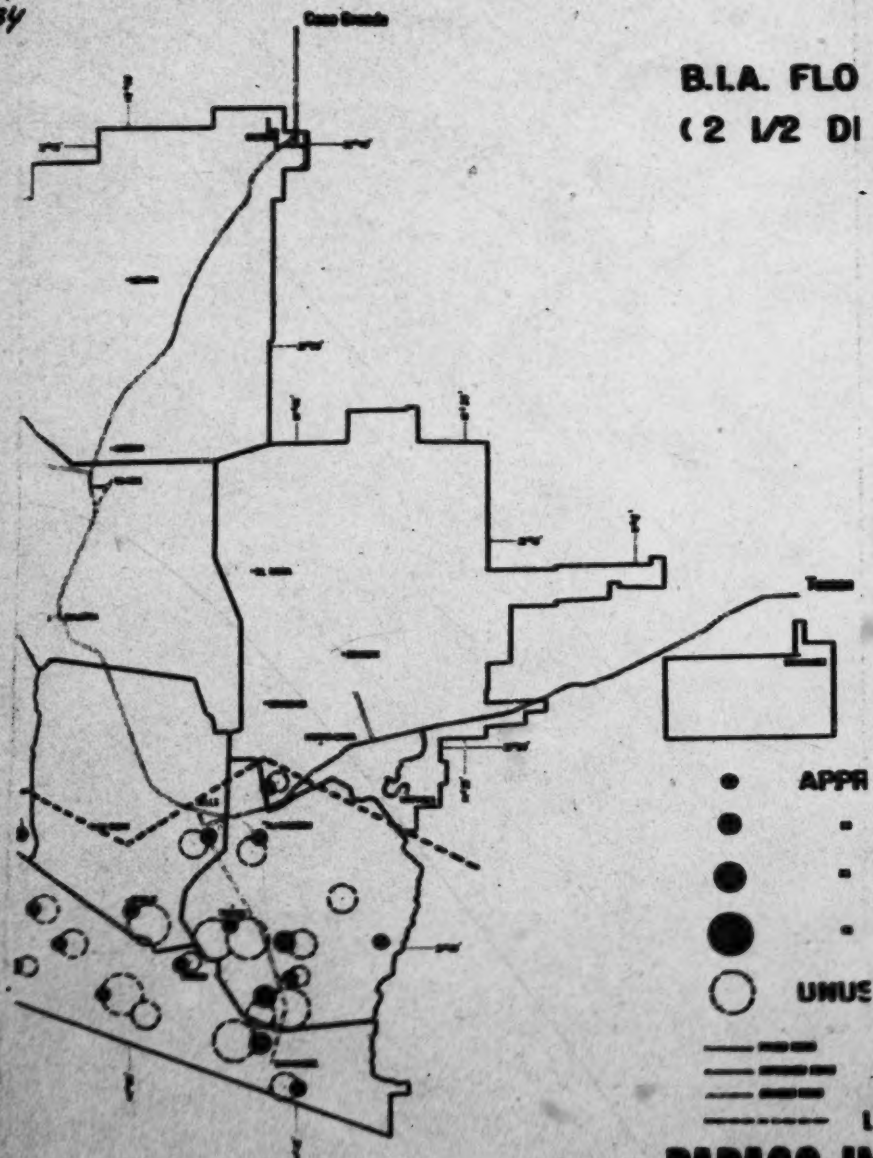
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178 The situation as it exists in the southeastern section of the
reservation was found to be the same in these areas. Indi-
vidual farmers were working less than ten acres each and
often only one or two. In each case there was a reduction
in the size of family plots when compared with former years
and, as in the southeast, many families had abandoned flood
water farming altogether.

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[A.82-A1]

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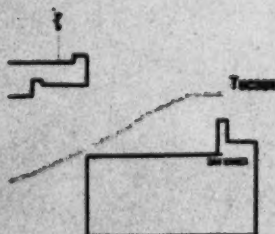
PAPAGO II

[p. 82-A2]

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MAP 8

B.I.A. FLOOD WATER FARM SURVEY
(2 1/2 DISTRICTS COMPLETED)

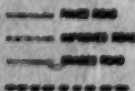


ACRES FARMED 1959, '60, '61

- APPROX. 25 (1-50)
- " 75 (51-100)
- " 150 (101-200)
- " 250 (201-300)



UNUSED ACREAGE IN PLOTS



LIMIT OF SURVEY

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[P. 12-A3]